

kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *marfir*.

At Kanôdra new *pep* has to be made at a place called Kantarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanôdra, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pep* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo.

Another special feature of the Kanôdra dairy is connected with the buried *osa* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *pepharipa* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *osa*, pours into it a small quantity of *pep*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *osa* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pep* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tatarian clans, the full ceremony of *pepharika* is only carried out when the *osa* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pep*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pep*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one

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787 ●

234^x of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on
754 p. 293.
787

If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irpalvusti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pa*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

THE IRPALVUSTHI CEREMONY

234^x The ceremony of *irpalvusti* (buffalo milk he milks) is per-
796 formed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf.
[778] It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *pa*, nor at the *ti* for *pa*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *warra*, the *indrapali* and the *tarvasi*, but has different features at the *lagvasi* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvasi*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *indrapali* and *warra*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *lagvasi*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kudr, a man from *Ödr* belonging to the *Nodrsol* must attend, and similarly a man from Kudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *warra*, the *warra* officiates, and at the *indrapali* and *tarvasi*, the *paliharimod*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *harpals* going from the right side to the left,¹ uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows:—

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[787]●

"*Wahr nahi*

hauwipairshai ; Narsian nani haipairshai."

"Country (God) if there is.

you will die ; Narsian will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *trix*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said, "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pöel, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepura, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthori belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pashmoh, near Kepura. That night Kwoten slept on the *adrul* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pag*.² Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepura and called out to the *warsul* of that place, "*Wawalia, tar idre-
haidirshai*"—"O *warsul*, is the man up yet?" The *warsul*

¹ To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen ; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

² I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained froth which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *piet* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pag* itself is not blood.

³ See p. 606.

CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

This chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all these functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

DIVINATION

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *tsaidial*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *tsaal*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *tsaal* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *tsaal*. All but one of the present diviners are *Tsivaliol*, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

791 fact, a diviner necessarily gives up his divining if he becomes
 797 a *palol*.¹

191 Each of the *tenol* is believed to be possessed by a
 198 special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when
 207 in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule,
 791 speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly
 in Malayalam or one of its dialects. The following are
 those who are at present credited with the power of
 divination:—

Midjukdr (63) of Piedr, who is inspired by the gods
 Kulinkars and Petkon. He speaks in Malayalam, and he
 does not appear to have succeeded anyone else as *tenol*.
 He is the most successful of those who are at present
 practising the art, and played the chief part in all the divining
 which took place during my visit.

Tadmers (60) of Kuodr, inspired by Ethrol and Arivili,
 succeeded his mother's father, Kasorivan (66) of Kusharf.
 He is said to speak the language of people whom the Todas
 call Mondardsetipol living in the Wainad, a language which
 appears to be a dialect of Malayalam.

Pangudr (66) of Kusharf, also succeeded Kasorivan, his
 grandfather, and is inspired by Petkon and Meilitars. There
 was some doubt as to the language used by him.

Ethgudr (52) of Kuodr is inspired by Arivili, and, like
 Tadmers, speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

Terkudr (63) of Piedr, inspired by Teipakh, the river god,
 succeeded his grandfather Keitolv. When inspired, his speech
 is like the babbling of a running river, "like the river's voice,"
 and cannot be understood.

Kangudr (62) of Piedr, who lives at Kavidi in the Wainad,
 is inspired by Meilitars and speaks Malayalam. He succeeded
 Tarivan (62), his father, and Tarivan had succeeded his father
 Keithiolv.

Kobuv (61) of Kuodr, is inspired by Meilitars and Kuderol
 and speaks Malayalam.

Pöteners (54) of Kundr, is inspired by Petkon and speaks
 the language of the Mondardsetipol.

¹ From the account of Flucio (Appendix I), it would seem that at one time
 the *palol* and *swarol* possessed the power of divination.

Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudryan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 198

Two other Tartar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 787 ● 791 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pötener, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobuv is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

787 or of any of his family; sickness or death of a buffalo;
791 failure of milk in a buffalo and persistent kicking of its calf;
failure to make a buffalo go to the spot at which it is to be
killed during a funeral ceremony; failure of milk to coagulate;
burning down of a dairy; disappearance of the bells of a
dairy; loss of a *tukitthkars* or lifting stone. In this last
instance the stone at the village of Nidrsi was carried away
some years ago by a party of English people who came to
picnic near the village while the people were away. They
carried the stone for some miles and then threw it down.
The Nidrsi people could not find it, and consulted Midjkudr
and Mongudrvan, who were able to reveal where the stone
was to be found, and it was restored to the village, where it
can now be seen.

[54] The diviners usually work in pairs, though occasionally
it would seem that one only may be consulted. If they
are asked for an explanation of some misfortune which has
befallen a man, the *tenol* usually find either that the sufferer
has committed an offence against the dairy or that he is
the subject of spells cast on him by a sorcerer. In the
former case, they prescribe the ceremony which must be
performed in order to expiate the offence. In the latter
case, they name the sorcerer so that the sufferer may know
with whom to make his peace.

I have already said that towards the close of my visit
a number of misfortunes befell the Todas; one man fell
ill, the wife of another died, and the dairy of a third was
burnt down, and these events kept the diviners busy, but
probably because I was implicated I was not allowed the
chance of observing the diviners at work.

787 The only occasion on which I saw the process of divining
791 was at a funeral. The buffalo which was to be killed had
been caught at some distance from the place appointed
158 for its slaughter. The animal was unusually refractory and
at length lay down and all the natural efforts of the Todas
failed to make it move. Midjkudr and Mongudrvan were
then called upon to discover the cause of the obstinacy
of the buffalo. Mongudrvan first began to dance slowly
to and fro, away from and towards the buffalo. He had

787 taken off his cloak and was only wearing the *tadrp*. As I
791 already knew the man, I was able to observe that his
158 general appearance was unaltered and that he did not appear
to be in any abnormal mental condition. He was soon
joined by Midjkudr, who danced up and down much more
wildly (Fig. 36). His general appearance was very different
to that usually presented by a Toda man. His hair seemed
to stand out from his head, although it shook with each of



FIG. 36.—MIDJKUDR AND MONGUDRYAN DIVINING AT A FUNERAL.

his violent movements; his eyes were abnormally bright and his face gave every appearance of great mental excitement. I had not previously known the man, but when he came to see me a few days later I could hardly believe that the quiet, self-possessed man whom I saw before me was the same individual whom I had seen dancing at the funeral. It was obvious that he had been in a distinctly abnormal condition of frenzy during the divining process. After dancing for a time Midjkudr began to utter broken sentences in a loud and almost chanting voice, while Mon-

787 gudrvan remained silent throughout. After Midjkudr had
 771 in these sentences given the reason for the obstinacy of
 158 the buffalo, and had prescribed what was to be done, he took
 a red cloth and dancing more violently than ever waved
 the cloth before the buffalo and pushed against the body
 of the animal. Then after the people had dragged the
 buffalo a little way, it rose and went quietly to the place
 where it was to be killed.

I had much difficulty in finding out exactly what Midjkudr had said. When he came to see me a few days later he stated that he did not know at the time what he was saying, and that his only knowledge was derived from those who had heard him, and I am inclined to believe that he was speaking the truth. His appearance during the divining was remarkably different from that of ordinary days, and strongly suggested a semi-hypnotic state, during which he might well have had no knowledge, or only a very vague knowledge, of anything he said.¹ In his ordinary condition he professed to be ignorant of Malayalam, the language which he was said to use in his frenzied condition.

My ignorance of Malayalam, and the obvious difficulties of the investigation, make me hesitate before expressing any decided opinion as to the real nature of Midjkudr's condition when divining, but I have a very strong leaning towards the idea that the man was in a genuinely abnormal condition, allied to the hypnotic state, and I am disposed to accept the statement of the Todas that he was speaking in a language of which he had only a very vague knowledge when in a normal condition. It is, of course, quite possible that the abnormal appearance of Midjkudr was merely due to the exercise of dancing and to mental excitement, and that he knew perfectly well what he was doing and saying. I can but record my impression that there was something more, and I only commit myself to this extent in regard to the special occasion on which I saw Midjkudr divining; even if I saw a genuine hypnotic or semi-hypnotic phenomenon, it does not follow that all Midjkudr's performances are wholly, or even partly,

¹ For an account of what Midjkudr seems to have said and the consequent proceedings, see p. 392.

of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *tsuol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, his fellow diviner.

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously.

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SORCERY

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *piliutpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikören*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *piliutvichi* or *piliutiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *piliutpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false.

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One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

124 It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was
 754 told of some of the magical rites by Teitnir, who had previously
 791 denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a
 sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He
 was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent
 in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had
 picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I
 cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of
 confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

754 The following men were said by various people to be
 791 *pilikdren* :—

Kaners, Kudrievan, and Teikudr (63), Ishkievan (60),
 Keinkursi (54), Puthion (64), and Teitnir (52), among the
 Teivaliol; Keitan (6), Mudrigeidi (1), Kiunervan and Ushaidi
 (14), and Karseidi (8), among the Tartharol. Pushteidi, the
 elder brother of Keitan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for
 the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted
 that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed
 between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in
 one as in the case of divination.

[668] The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families,
 and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable
 that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and
 usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his
 knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained
 the credit for magical powers.

754 We have already seen that when a man sustains a mis-
 787 fortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find
 791 whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the
 sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter
 case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been
 produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes
 the spell, the nature and details of the process varying
 according to the method of sorcery used and the offence
 which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when
 Pirsners (9) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that
 Kudrievan had bewitched him. Pirsners went to Kudrievan
 and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and
 Pirsners became well soon after.

754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
 789 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears
 539 only a ragged cloth, so may his wife wear only a ragged
 cloth.

791 When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the
 hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon
 whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them
 secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when
 the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incanta-
 tion to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

● [792] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a
 sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and
 they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune,
 but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him
 and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his
 enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes
 to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the
 credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to
 the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third
 person must be present, who is called the *nedrvol*, or inter-
 mediate man.¹ The *nedrvol* brings about the reconciliation,
 and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down
 before the sorcerer and performs the *kalmelpudithi* saluta-
 tion. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while
 his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

a tau midmadr, an nidr midmadr; taned jou mid; term
 Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

ai jou mid; in tr hark elm uldand; en mans elm
 become, go may; this buffalo calf to all be well; my mind all

tulvishipini, tan mansu tili mid.
 cleared from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if
 there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as
 mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

¹ The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nedrvol*.

portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *tenol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *tenol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death.

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain.

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account.

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *tenol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
 787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
 754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any
 one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
 754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he
 had been given an account by a Toda. According to this
 account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants
 which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul*
 (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine
 leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood
 after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a
 given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls
 ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been pro-
 duced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the
 pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This
 information came from a Badaga source and I could not
 obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an
 approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda
 sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
 754 that of their own *pilikören*. The latter can be remedied, but
 the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub* =
 Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
 [721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only
 thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the
 Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were re-
 sponsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kôdmer,
 Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as
 the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not
 like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I
 was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a
 companion. Mr. Thurston¹ describes a similar experience in
 which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to
 Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the
 Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using
 his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

¹ *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

OMENS

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird called *karpūls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Pūv, the son of Ōn, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus.

782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

234 The general name for all these offences is *palinöörtvichi*;
673 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
678 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven
tuninörtiti is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmohk*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

● [79] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *tsuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *tsuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arjatsual*, or day

on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others.

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatsnol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatsnol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudr-pali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible.

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed.

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
 792 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
 787 offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
 688 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
 796 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove
 it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed
 and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the
 offender goes on the following Sunday to the ~~the~~ dairies
 of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the cere-
 mony which has been ordered. The following is probably a
 typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of
 his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*,
 who said that they had bought things (*i.e.* given money from
 the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *maduol* or sacred
 days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their
 buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatzuol*; there
 had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven
 them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatzuol*.
 The *teuol* said they must do *iruörtiti*, and on the following
 Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv)
 and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following
 vow at each:—

<i>Ir kar</i>	<i>uidduol,</i>	<i>gírul</i>	<i>uiddik en,</i>	<i>iruörtin</i>
Buffalo call	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I
 recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."¹

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
 792 *iruörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
 783 a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
 673 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
 796 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners
 to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his
 fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recover-
 ing from the illness or removing any other ills which his

¹ From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would
 only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear
 that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
 541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
 765 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing,
 and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began
 again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a
 repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the
 afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes,
 now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and
 killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already
 been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
 787 second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
 627 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself.
 In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose
 directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the
 gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods
 on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion
 for settling disputes, especially those which concern the
 people especially connected with the funeral.

FUNERAL LAMENTS

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
 539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising
 765 the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is
 applied which is used for the words and clauses of the
 prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings
 the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly
 after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases
 during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains.
 At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the
 lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my
 visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two
 laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him
 at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

766 old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she
 588 was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *wasolawi*,
 Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of
 her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position
 among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to
 the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child
 would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there
 seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the
 funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan.
 Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place
 at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol,
 but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral
 hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place,
 but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for
 some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be
 taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass
 out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the
parsütpimi ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper
 plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

766 After this delay the ceremonial[†] took its natural course till
 787 the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was
 791 being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the
 side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in
 making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy
 piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go
 further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then
 called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the
 buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have
 already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and
 there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had
 really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons
 given:—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was
 the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo
 which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since
 this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons,
 and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

† [i.e. funeral rites for a two-year old
 girl. -- Analyst]

- 766 one who now belonged to another clan. Kuriolv ought to
● 787 have used a buffalo which he had acquired in his own life-
791 time. Midjkudr went on to say that Kuriolv, having done
wrong, must pay compensation to the dead, and told him to
give the buffalo named Perov. As a sign that he would do



FIG. 57.—KEINBA AND PERPAKH; THE FORMER IS HOLDING
IN HIS HAND THE IMITATION BOW AND ARROW AND
HAS HIS CLOAK OVER HIS HEAD.

so, Kuriolv performed the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of Keinba and also through Sintharap, of the dead girl.

Another reason given was that the buffalo had been caught at the wrong place—viz., at the place where it ought to be

766 caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason
 777 a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of
 771 the reasons given by Midjkadr or whether it was a later
 surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his
 brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right
 Tebner, the younger, performed the *halmawaditaki* salutation
 to Perner.

766 The next special feature of the ceremony took place after
 777 the buffalo had been killed and before the *hachantaki* cere-
 771 mony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and
 the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus
 accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed
 the *parutpini* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead
 child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba
 placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers
 of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held
 it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken
 out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the
 mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother
 of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paiol* of Keinba, came
 up and covered the head of the boy with his *pukali* as a sign
 that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their
 foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a
 while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then
 Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery
 and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the
 mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried
 together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her
 foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the
 burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal
 bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he
 put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was
 speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below
 the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *arvattini* cere-
 mony, the burning being done by Silkids (53), the wife of a
 younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law.

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If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *maduel*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irwärtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *maduel*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days.

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As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *maduel* or *palinel* rarely forms an occasion for the *irwärtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL

Another sacred day is the *arpatsnol* or *arpasnel*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kōdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatsnol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *maduel*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kōdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatsnol*.

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¹ [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days... Analyst]

527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
 769 the *teuol* found that the desecration of the *arpatznol* was one of
 787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday,
 the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol*
 or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are
 very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be
 Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans.
 Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three,
 and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records
 go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may
 not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that
 764 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days.

796 There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals
 on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice
 of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*,
 Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the
 funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that
 of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village
 and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while
 the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for
 females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village
 and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the
 funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held
 on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday
 the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the
 funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females
 Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a
 male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the
 holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and
 probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as
 a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have
 their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion
 among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these cere-
 monial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured
 position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities
whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual.
776 In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed

791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

In the process of divination men are possessed by gods ; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village.

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas.

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence ; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods.

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are

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at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787 ●

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks¹ states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

TODAS AND KOTAS

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuvv*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

¹ P. 4.

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *dr kārthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them. 101 609

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood. 177 437

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge. 177 754

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *tsuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners. 177 787

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf; 177 773

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pūkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bēti Khān, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pūkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

768 The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

769 This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kēd*, wrapped in a new *pūkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kēdmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "Hah! hoh! ēr kar ultamā," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kēd*, covered by the *pūkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kēd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

* *Monigar*—properly *maniyakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/2 [Of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analysis]

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
 614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
 [197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
 at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal
 sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from com-
 munity to community.²⁴ There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs
 in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There
 we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
 [114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early
 times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.²⁵ Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove
 invalid.

177 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
 174 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
 they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
 Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested²⁶ that the model house
 or dairy used in the ur-foṭ ceremony, and called poi-foṭ (Rivers' pūlpali), has some con-
 [787] nection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible;
 the Toda word for tamarind (pyli) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
 595 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
 [114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be
 trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly
 untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situa-
 tion is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total
 configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
 [171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
 of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.²⁷

174 The tortiṣoṭ or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokthoditi) is on the whole so
 837 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

²⁴ I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly
 on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be
 found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters,
 Vol. 4, pp. 123-47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of
 more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
 [114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611-40,
 1907).

²⁵ Pp. 693-718, especially pp. 698 ff.

²⁶ Rivers, p. 700.

²⁷ D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Khas Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 774-83, 1938).

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzgwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzgwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershtf*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on